3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

Then the girls put the nets on their backs and if one was married and had a baby, she put that on top in its cradle board. Some men went with them with their war arrows because there were Apaches in the land then. They all went running, running. If they saw dust in the distance that they thought was Apaches, they went dodging behind the giant cactus. You see, women had to run in those days. That was what saved their lives. Many hours they had to run, and when they came back every family had two little jars of water to last for the day. But we did not mind. We knew how to use water. We have a word that means thirst-enduring and that is what we were taught to be. Why, our men, when they went off hunting, never drank at all. They thought it was womanish to carry water with them.

My brothers went running off, too. Ah, how we could run, we Desert People; all the morning until the sun was high, without once stopping! My brothers took their bows and arrows and went far off over the flat land.

"Run," my father said to them. "Run until you are exhausted. So you will be a strong man. If you fall down tired, far out in the waste land, perhaps a vision will come to you. Perhaps a hawk will visit you and teach you to be swift. Perhaps you will get a piece of the rainbow to carry on your shoulder so that no one can get near to you, any more than to the rainbow itself. Or maybe Coyote himself will sing you a song that has magic in it."

So they went off in their breechclouts and bare feet, running in the dark when they could hardly see the cactus joints on the ground and the horned toads—rattlesnakes there were not in that cool weather. One of my brothers did really have visions. The others used to come back without him, bringing jackrabbits for our dinner. The little boy would come in much later and never tell where he had been. But we found out long, long after, when he became a medicine man, that he had been lying dead out on the desert all those hours and that Coyote had come and talked to him.

When they were gone my mother would come crawling out. She went to the little enclosure beside our house, made of greasewood bushes piled up in a circle and she got the pot of gruel. We always kept gruel in our house. It was in a big clay pot that my mother had made. She ground up seeds into flour. Not wheat flour—we had no wheat. But all the wild seeds, the good pigweed and the wild grasses. And corn, too! Some summers we could grow corn. All those things my mother kept in beautiful jars in our storehouse. Every day she ground some more and added fresh flour to the gruel and some boiling water. That pot stood always ready so that whoever came in from running could have some. Oh, good that gruel was! I have

velutina) to make a pinole,[1] and discusses its general use and preparation, while Havard (14) also refers to its use by the Papago.

Similarly the tubers of the climbing potato (a species of *Solanum*) and the roots of the wild onion *(Allium unifolium)* which grow only on Mt. Baboquivari, were collected in May and mid-summer, respectively. These two plants were brought back by hunters, or by individuals who made the long special journey to obtain them to trade for baskets, skins or pottery. The bulbs of Papago Blue Bells are eaten raw. They do not have a pleasing taste and are eaten largely because they appear in early spring, before other crops are ready.

The large root of the night-blooming Cereus *(Cereus greggii)* which may weigh as much as four pounds is chewed raw for thirst or may be baked whole in ashes, peeled and eaten.

Fruits[2]

Small fruits:

u:spa't (Condalia spathulata) Summer
Mulberry, *kohi (Morus microphylla)* Summer
Hackberry, *kom (Celtis reticulata)* Summer
Boxthorn, *kuawur (Lycium fremontii)* August
Mistletoe, *kakowa't (Phoradendron californicum)* Summer
Lote bush, *u:s tcuĭ'tpa't (Zizyphus lycioides)* Summer
Bird Cayenne pepper, *tcirtipia (Capsicum frutescens* var. *baccatum)* August
Black oak, *toa (Quercus emoryi*, also *Quercus oblongifolia)* July
Bucknut, coffee berry, quinine plant, *kohwi (Simmondsia californica)* August

Cactus and Yucca fruits:

Giant cactus, sahuaro, *ha:canyi (Carnegia gigantea)* July
Organ pipe cactus, pitahaya, *tcutcuis (Lemaireocereus thurberi)* August

1. The Papagos mean, by pinole, a gruel made of parched, ground cornmeal and water. Since the meal has been parched before the water is added, no cooking is necessary. Pinole was the only ration used on journeys, since it served both for food and drink. It was also the prescribed food during ceremonial purification.

2. The term fruit is here used in the botanical sense and thus covers berries, nuts, etc.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

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"(d) In those areas where piped distribution of water is impracticable...Every well shall be tightly covered, and the water shall be obtained therefrom by means of some type of pump. Water shall not be drawn from any well by means of buckets or other containers. In the event it is necessary to haul water, the containers both in transit and at the labor camp shall be cleaned and sterilized frequently, and shall be kept tightly covered. If water is secured from tanks or containers a spigot for withdrawal therefrom shall be provided, and it shall be unlawful to dip water therefrom.

"(e) The type of drinking facilities shall be approved by the State board of health."[1]

[271] All the water drunk in southern Arizona camps comes from wells, since surface water is scarcely sufficient to supply the area's population, and too distant from the population centers to make transporting it feasible.

In Pima county about 70% of the labor camps are supplied water directly from storage tanks on wells at the site or at the nearby home of the cotton growers.[2] However, in a fifth of these camps workers had to carry [415] their water from a tap at the storage tank to their cabins in buckets, and store it in their cabins in whatever containers they might have. Except for one camp visited provided with inside plumbing, the rest were serviced by hydrants outside the cabins. The number of hydrants supplying water piped from a storage tank varied from 1 for 3 worker's cabins to 1 for 14 cabins, averaging 1 outside hydrant for each 5 cabins.[3]

Nearly a third of Pima county labor camps lacked water delivered directly from a well in 1950. They were about equally divided between camps equipped with cisterns filled from tanks hauled from the farmer's well and camps where a tank-trailer of water was parked. Pickers drew water from cisterns with hand-pumps, with an averaged of a single pump for each 16 cabins.[4]

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, pp. 40-41.

[2] Of 14 camps on which data was obtained, 10 received water from storage tanks at a well—71%.

[3] Actually 4.89 cabins, judging from data from 8 camps.

[4] 47 cabins had 3 pumps, averaging 15.66 in 2 camps studied.

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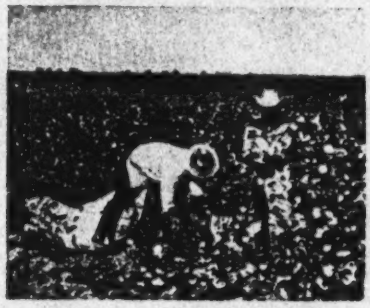
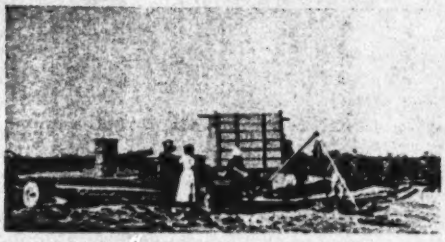
[291]

Picking is two-hand work . . .
you have to move fast . . .



and you have to stoop down low . . .



drink your water out of a barrel . . .

464
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464
465

and climb up high . . .

but the pay is very welcome.

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466 While drinking water supplies in most of the region's labor camps were reasonably satisfactory and sanitary--if not very convenient--the story in the harvest fields had a different plot. Workers in the cotton harvest need a high water intake because the work is hard and hot. During the early part of the season, the blazing Arizona sun makes it even hotter, raising the water requirement. But in the fields is just where water is least available.

Cotton farmers or their contractors or foremen haul water to the fields for pickers to drink. But sometimes they fail to keep up with demand, and hands gripe and swear because they must work dry--and in danger from heat prostration. Fortunately for workers, these failures are comparatively rare.

Sanitary considerations are more or less forgotten in providing water for the hands in the fields. Some contractors provide barrels with spigots, but most in 1950 had acquired their containers hit or miss, and laborers got a drink by dipping from an open container. Even spigoted barrels usually sported only one drinking cup. Lack of individual drinking cups in the intense heat made ideal conditions for transmission of every contact-communicable disease.

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461 Most harvest hands either ate prepared lunches in the fields about 10 or 11 a.m. (having started work at 7 or earlier), or walked back to the labor camp for a quick snack. However, many contractors profited off their crews by operating small stores at the scales where pickers could purchase soft drinks, pastries and other prepared foods, and tobacco products. A few performed a real service for their crews--at a price--by operating mobile lunch stands serving hot coffee and sandwiches and even hamburgers. Lunch fare of pickers observed in this study was far from ideal for hard workers.